

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

TOP SECRET SENSITIVE

1972 SEP 29 AM 7 40

T O P S E C R E T SENSITIVE 221015Z SEP 72 VIA CAS CHANNELS (BUNKER)
FROM: AMBASSADOR BUNKER SAIGON 0169
TO: THE WHITE HOUSE, EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER
REFS: A) WHS 2175; B) SAIGON 0167
 1. YOU WERE CORRECT IN ASSUMPTION THAT THIEU HAD NO IMMEDIATE REACTIONS TO MY BRIEFING OF HIM YESTERDAY ON THE SEPTEMBER 26-27 MEETINGS; HE TOOK NOTES BUT MADE NO COMMENTS. SINCE THIEU'S SCHEDULE IS FULL TODAY AND I HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO GET AN APPOINTMENT WITH HIM, I HAVE SENT TO HIM VIA NHA THE TEXT OF THE DRV'S SEPTEMBER 26 PROPOSAL (WHS 2173). I HAVE ALSO SENT HIM MEMO-RANDUM COVERING FULLY MESSAGE RECEIVED FROM THE OTHER SIDE ON THE PRINCIPLE OF UNANIMITY APPLYING TO OPERATIONS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL CONCORD AND ITS SUBORDINATE COMMISSIONS AND THEIR ESSENTIALLY ADVISORY ROLE (REF A).
 2. IN MY MESSAGE YESTERDAY (SAIGON 0167), I FORGOT TO MENTION THAT IN REFERRING TO THE GVN MEMORANDUM OF SEPTEMBER 26 (SAIGON 0165), I SAID TO THIEU THAT I WOULD HAVE TO TAKE EXCEPTION TO THE GVN REFERENCE TO "ANGLO-SAXON PRAGMATISM" WHICH SEEMS TO GUIDE THE U.S. APPROACH. HAD WE WISHED TO BE PRAGMATIC, WE COULD HAVE SETTLED THE WAR AT ANY TIME DURING THE LAST THREE AND ONE-HALF YEARS. ON THE CONTRARY, WE HAD SUPPORTED THE GVN AT THE SACRIFICE OF MANY AMERICAN LIVES AS WELL AS TREASURE BECAUSE WE WERE DEEPLY COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-AGGRESSION AND TO THE SEARCH FOR AN HONORABLE PEACE. NEVER HAD THIS BEEN MORE CLEARLY STATED THAN IN PRESIDENT NIXON'S LETTER OF AUGUST 31 TO HIM WHEN THE PRESIDENT HAD SAID WE WILL NOT DO NOW WHAT WE REFUSED TO DO IN THE PRECEDING THREE AND ONE-HALF YEARS. THIEU DID NOT RESPOND, BUT I FELT THIS HAD TO BE SAID, FOR IT SEEMED TO ME THIS GVN STATEMENT WAS SIMPLY UNACCEPTABLE.
 3. WARM REGARDS.

State Dept. review completed

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